

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8596

INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA PRIORITY

AMCONSUL ADANA PRIORITY

AMCONSUL ISTANBUL PRIORITY

AMCONSUL IZMIR PRIORITY

USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

USMISSION USUN PRIORITY

EUCOM PRIORITY

CINCUSAFE PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L ANKARA 2558

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, TU

SUBJECT: PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS OF DEMIREL CABINET

REF: ANKARA 2536

1. IN OUR INITIAL ANALYSIS OF THE NATIONAL FRONT'S UNUSUALLY  
LARGE CABINET NAMED MARCH 31 BY PRIME MINISTER DEMIREL,  
WE NOTE:

A. WITH 16 POSITIONS THE MODERATE JUSTICE PARTY (JP) HAS A  
BARE MAJORITY IN THE NEW 30-MEMBER CABINET. THE EXTREMIST  
ISLAMIC NATIONAL SALVATION PARTY (NSP) LED BY ERBAKAN HAS EIGHT  
POSITIONS, THE REPUBLICAN RELIANCE PARTY (RR) LED BY FEYZIOGLU  
HAS FOUR, AND THE EXTREMIST RIGHT-WING NATIONAL ACTION PARTY  
(NAP) LED BY TURKES HAS TWO.

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B. JUSTICE PARTY POSITIONS INCLUDE 13 OF THE 22 HEADS OF SPECIFIC CABINET MINISTRIES, PLUS TWO MINISTERS OF STATE AND THE PRIME MINISTER. EACH OF THE OTHER PARTIES HAS A DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER. THE NATIONAL SALVATION PARTY AND THE NATIONAL ACTION PARTY EACH HAVE A MINISTER OF STATE AS WELL. THE NATIONAL SALVATION PARTY HAEADS SIX SPECIFIC CABINET MINISTRIES, AND THE REPUBLICAN RELIANCE PARTY HEADS THREE. TURKES' EXTREMIST NATIONAL ACTION PARTY (WHICH BOASTS THAT IT HAS 100,000 COMMANDOS AT ITS DISPOSAL) HEADS NONE RPT NONE. WHILE THE JUSTICE PARTY HAS A BARE MAJORITY OF THE TOTAL CABINET POSITIONS, IT HAS LEADERSHIP OF A NUMBER OF THE MORE IMPORTANT MINISTRIES (FOREIGN AFFAIRS, FINANCE, COMMERCE, EDUCATION, ENERGY).

C. THE FOREIGN MINISTER, IHSAN CAGLAYANGIL, AND THE DEFENSE MINISTER, FERIT MELEN, ARE BOTH HIGHLY EXPERIENCED AND RESPECTED FIGURES HERE. CAGLAYANGIL HAS SIX YEARS' EXPERIENCE AS A FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER IN EARLIER DEMIREL GOVERNMENTS. MELEN'S APPOINTMENT IS SOMETHING OF A SURPRISE, AS ILHAMI SANCAR, BECAUSE OF HIS POPULARITY WITH THE MILITARY, HAD BEEN EXPECTED TO REMAIN AS DEFENSE MINISTER. HOWEVER, MELEN HAS SERVED AS MINISTER OF DEFENSE IN THE TWO ERIM CABINETS WHICH FOLLOWED THE MARCH 1971 "COUP BY MEMORANDUM" AND WAS LATER HIMSELF A PRIME MINISTER AT A TIME WHEN THE MILITARY INTERVENTION WAS STILL IN EFFECT. FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER ESENBEL, WHO NEVER FORMALLY RELINQUISHED HIS APPOINTMENT AS AMBASSADOR IN WASHINGTON, WILL BE RETURNING TO THE U.S. TO RESUME HIS AMBASSADORIAL DUTIES THERE.

D. THREE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTERS WERE NAMED RATHER THAN THE TRADITIONAL ONE OR TWO. (THE ONLY PRECEDENT FOR THREE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTERS IS THE SECOND COALITION CABINET OF INONU IN 1962.) THE PROBABLE REASON FOR THIS INFLATION OF RANK IS THAT IT ENABLED EACH OF THE LEADERS OF THE THREE SMALLER PARTIES PARTICIPATING IN THE COALITION TO HAVE SUCH POSITIONS AND, MORE IMPORTANTLY, IT ENABLED DEMIREL TO ASSIGN THE CONTROVERSIAL NAP CHAIRMAN (ALPASLAN TURKES) TO WHAT HE COULD CONSIDER A PRESTIGIOUS POSITION WITHOUT GIVING HIM A SPECIFIC MINISTRY TO HEAD -- AN ACT WHICH COULD WELL HAVE BEEN CONSIDERED HIGHLY PROVOCATIVE TO BOTH THE MILITARY AND TO LARGE SEGMENTS OF THE TURKISH BODY POLITIC.

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E. PROBABLY FOR THE SAME REASON, THE OTHER NAP MEMBER OF THE CABINET, MUSTAFA KEMAL ERKOVAN, WAS MADE ONE OF THE FOUR MINISTERS OF STATE RATHER THAN GIVEN A MINISTRY TO RUN.

F. ERBAKAN'S NSP HAS ACQUIRED ONE MORE CABINET POSITION THAN IT HAD IN THE PREVIOUS ECEVIT-ERBAKAN COALITION. WHILE IT HAS HAD TO GIVE UP ONE IMPORTANT PORTFOLIO IT PREVIOUSLY HELD

(COMMERCE), IT ONCE AGAIN HEADS JUSTICE, INTERIOR, AGRICULTURE AND INDUSTRY. IN ADDITION TO THESE IMPORTANT MINISTRIES, IT HAS NOW ACQUIRED THE LEADERSHIP OF THE LABOR MINISTRY. ALSO, IF RELATIVE PARLIAMENTARY STRENGTH IS THE CRITERION, NSP LEADER ERBAKAN SHOULD EMERGE AS THE SENIOR OF THE THREE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTERS.

2. INEVITABLY, THE NATIONAL FRONT COALITION, BEING COMPOSED OF FOUR PARTIES AND SEVERAL INDEPENDENTS, IS A "SOMETHING FOR EVERYBODY" GOVERNMENT. DEMIREL SEEMS TO HAVE NEGOTIATED A DIFFICULT BALANCE AMONG THE PERSONALITIES AND FORCES HE HAD TO ACCOMMODATE. ONLY TIME WILL TELL, HOWEVER, HOW LONG DEMIREL'S IMPRESSIVE BALANCING ACT CAN BE MAINTAINED.

3. MEANWHILE, DEMIREL'S OPPOSITION, THE REPUBLICAN PEOPLE'S PARTY (RPP) AND THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY, HAS ALREADY EMBARKED UPON A COURSE OF EMBITTERED AND AGGRESSIVE HOSTILITY TO THE NEW GOVERNMENT. ECEVIT AND HIS RPP IN PARTICULAR ARE CONVINCED THAT A MAJORITY OF THE COUNTRY CLEARLY WANTS RPP LEADERSHIP AND THAT DEMIREL'S PUTTING TOGETHER HIS NEW GERRY-BUILT GOVERNMENT IS AN UNPRINCIPLED PLOY DESIGNED TO HEAD OFF EARLY ELECTIONS AND IN THIS WAY TO ABORT THE POPULAR WILL. THUS, IN HIS APPEARANCE AT PARLIAMENT ON MARCH 28, DEMIREL WAS SUBJECTED TO SHOUTS OF "THIEF PRIME MINISTER" AND FIST FIGHTS BROKE OUT AMONG THE DEPUTIES. THE DEPARTMENT WILL RECALL THAT IN THE LATTER 60'S THE RPP, WITH FAR FEWER MEMBERS IN THE PARLIAMENT AND WITH LESS VIGOROUS LEADERSHIP, MANAGED TO CARRY ON A PROGRAM OF STRONG AND EFFECTIVE AGITATION AGAINST A MUCH STRONGER DEMIREL GOVERNMENT OF THAT ERA. WE WOULD EXPECT THE AGITATION THIS TIME TO BE EVEN MORE VIGOROUS.

4. RPP MEMBERS TELL US THAT THEY HAVE NOT GIVEN UP HOPE THAT DEMIREL WILL LOSE THE VOTE OF CONFIDENCE. IN ANY EVENT, THEY  
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PLAN TO MAKE THE STRONGEST POSSIBLE SHOWING IN THAT VOTE.

5. ACCORDING TO THE CONSTITUTION THE NEW GOVERNMENT, FOLLOWING ITS ACCEPTANCE BY THE PRESIDENT TODAY (MARCH 31), WILL HAVE A MAXIMUM OF ONE WEEK TO SUBMIT ITS PROGRAM TO THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. (WE UNDERSTAND IT MAY TRY TO SUBMIT THE PROGRAM SOONER.) TWO DAYS LATER DEBATE MUST BEGIN ON THE VOTE OF CONFIDENCE. THERE IS NO TIME LIMIT ON THE DEBATE, BUT A VOTE MUST BE TAKEN ONE DAY AFTER THE COMPLETION OF THE DEBATE. THE ODDS NOW FAVOR THE COALITION HOLDING TOGETHER AND ITS ACHIEVING A FAVORABLE OUTCOME WITH RESPECT TO THIS VOTE. IN THE UNLIKELY EVENT THAT IT SHOULD FAIL TO GET THIS VOTE, HOWEVER, IT WOULD STILL REMAIN, AT LEAST FOR A TIME, AS TURKEY'S CARETAKER GOVERNMENT.  
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